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bride-price balanced by three types of dowry payments. These all have 533
separate native terms.

	Bride-Price	Dower
Payments to groups and makes	kafuk	mating
Payments to pigs	pakuk	fee
Free gifts of pigbirs, corn, and clan	pangke	dangpun

In arranging a marriage the young people frequently reach an agree- [p45]
ment first and then persuade their elders to assist in the negotiations. Just as frequently a marriage may be a matter of financial expediency for the elders, to which young people are often quite acquiescent. Regardless of how a particular marriage has been arranged, it is necessary for the kinsmen to discuss, sometimes over a period of months, just how the exchanges will be initiated. First of all wamama,* an engagement gift or option on the girl, must be given. This consists of a make worth from $1.50 to $2.50 for the girl's father and a shawl worth $.75 to $1.50 for the mother. The theoretic bride-price and dowry payments in makes should consist of the following series:

Bride-Price (kafuk)		Dower (mating)	
kakak (his war arrow) Afaipa make	$35.00	mbaiy kafikin	
		Mimingumuh make	$ 5.00
		12 dowry soldiers	.60
		head shawls pressed	.25
kakakin (his junior) Hawamin make	5.00	kakakin (her junior) Mimingumuh make	5.00
kawi (his third) Kakmin make	4.50	kawi (her third) Tumunin make	4.00
kawui (his fourth) Mimingumuh make	3.00	kakui (her fourth) Piki make	2.50
keyeting (his fifth) Tumunin make	2.00	keyeting (her fifth) Kakuli make	1.50
kwatamu (his sixth) Piki make	1.50	kwatamu (her sixth) Fandi make	1.25
	$60.50		$20.10

This is purely a formal list of the approved payments and their relationships. It indicates a tendency for bride-prices to be three times as large as dowries. No case in my records exactly corresponds to such a theoretic description. What actually happens is that the male kin, in discussing the makes each side has available, make a purely expedient arrangement which only approximates the theoretic one. Before the consummation of the marriage, the man should make the engagement 535
gift and pay the first, and highest priced, make. Without further ceremony the girl then goes to live with him.

Theoretically she then becomes a member of his village and his line-

* This name is the equivalent of our "no trespassing." It refers to branches placed on a house door as a sign that the owner wishes no one to enter during his absence.

age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation. Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure. Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember cookies and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first cookie payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowery return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafok payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowery terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called pakah and ila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

In addition to the larger bride-price-dowery exchanges there are the so-called free gifts (*pungbe* and *siongma*). Actually, the pungbe gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four pungbe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siongma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping affinal kin may begin by giving pungbe gifts before he pays his first real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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cists. I didn't want her because she went around to her friends and said I had no gongs and mukos to pay a bride-price; that was why I would not marry her. The other woman was Kolani, sister of Rilpado, but I heard that her father hit her because she wanted to marry me. So I didn't want her either. Maringma's family also wanted her to marry me, and I had given him some presents. 159[2]

[Question about his present wife.] One day I was playing cards and Tilafani [now his mother-in-law] came to me and asked me for money. I said I didn't have any, but then I found five cents in my basket and gave them to her. She was my Female House. Then she went to my house and saw my Fehawa muko standing there. She spoke to my older sister, Marsima, and said that it was ours [Fanam's and Tilafani's]. Marsima answered, "There are no gongs and mukos here." Marsima was just repeating the words Maringma had said. Then Tilafani said she had never requested such gossip. The day before I had gone to Tilafani to buy a chicken. She wanted twenty-five cents. I offered fifteen cents but she would not accept them, so I left. The next day she told me I could come and get the chicken and pay for it later. I thought maybe her daughter had sent her for me. So I went to Maiyamching [the girl's village]. The former tumukum [the girl's father] was sitting on the verandah talking. He said I could get the chicken, but when I started to shoot it he didn't want me to. Lakamsa was standing there. He told Lakamsa to shoot the chicken, but Lakamsa went off in the opposite direction before he aimed, so it was a very long shot. He said, "If I hit the chicken in the neck, it is yours; if not, you do not get it." [All this was symbolic reference to Fanam's marriage to the daughter.] Lakamsa shot, and the arrow hit the chicken right in the neck. So I took the chicken home with me and we ate it. At that time the former tumukum was selling a valuable muko because he wanted small cows for change. So I sent the chief of Dikimpe to ask if they wanted mine. Tilamsa [his present wife] laughed. That showed she was willing to marry me, so I sent the Fehawa muko. But Tilamsa did not come to me for half a month. Meanwhile Maringma and Kolani said if she didn't want to come, they would. I told them they could come and work to earn their own bride-prices. Finally when my father was sick, my wife came to me. We did not sleep together for a month or so. Then I wanted to sleep with her, but she said, "Where is the shawl for my mother?" [Before consummating a marriage it is customary for the husband to give his mother-in-law a shawl.] So I gave Tilafani a muko with which to buy a shawl. Then we slept together. [Question.] I had never slept 160[1]